

Polling Before Gallup: Early Developments in the Canadian Polling Industry

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Abstract

This conference paper provides an overview of early developments relating to the polling industry in Canada prior to the arrival of the American pollster George Gallup's "Gallup Poll" which first began appearing in Canadian newspapers in 1941. In particular, the paper provides: 1) an overview of the early use in Canada of survey research techniques, 2) how government agencies and academics were involved in collecting and processing quantitative data and relating to Canadian attitudes and behaviours, and, 3) how the private sector, including advertising agencies and market research firms, were developing ways to conduct public opinion research relating to consumers and media, including newspapers and radio. Together these activities provided a foundation for what would become a fully developed polling industry in Canada.

Introduction

There is a mistaken notion among those who write about early developments in the Canadian polling industry that it began as an American import in the early 1940s when George Gallup and Saul Rae established the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO). In his journalistic account of the industry's history in Canada, Clair Hoy asserted it was after Gallup's entry on the national scene that Canadian "polling had suddenly advanced from the days of straw polls."² While this may have been partly true about media stories based on surveys on public issues,³ it is certainly *not* true that survey research and the use of other forms of quantitative analysis had not been used prior to this time to assess Canadian attitudes and behaviours. One example from just prior to the arrival of the Gallup Poll was that in 1940 the CBC commissioned a study of over 2,000 respondents in Ontario and Quebec on issues relating to public broadcasting.⁴ In this paper, I show that prior to 1941 the Canadian government, academics, media organizations, and private sector companies were highly active in gathering survey data and other forms of market research in Canada. Indeed, the art of polling the Canadian public did not begin with the American imported "Gallup Poll" in 1941; rather, the Canadian polling industry's roots had been planted decades earlier. This includes the development of interview techniques, including those

¹ This paper is part of a continuing project regarding the history of the Canadian polling and market research industry. I invite readers to contact me at adamsc@umanitoba.ca on any other matters regarding the research content provided here. I wish to thank my friend and past colleague, Curtis Brown, for his insightful comments and suggested changes to an earlier draft of this paper. All mistakes remain my own. Please do not cite this paper without my permission.

² Claire Hoy, *Margin of Error: Pollsters and the Manipulation of Canadian Politics* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1989), p. 17.

³ Regarding the use by those in government of polls to understand Canadian attitudes during the 1940s see Christopher Page, *The Roles of Public Opinion Research in Canadian Government* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 30.

⁴⁴ Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting: 1920-1951* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 344.

involving face-to-face and telephone interviewing, advances in questionnaire design, and to a limited extent, implementing effective methodologies relating to sample design.

This paper is organized as follows. First, I discuss early developments in the use of surveys to capture social information in both Europe and the USA. This is followed by a description of how the Canadian Census, and the methodologies that were implemented to gather this data required an extensive amount of planning, human resources, and technology as Canada evolved from pre-Confederation years into the twentieth century. From this, I show how a small but growing marketing research industry developed alongside the growth of government activities in the 1920s and 1930s and how the use of social surveys came to be used to understand Canadian attitudes and behaviours, especially relating to media usage and other consumer behaviours. These business-related activities laid the groundwork for later developments in the Canadian polling industry.

Early Developments of the “Social Survey”

The term “social survey” evolved in the nineteenth century from the idea of doing a “survey” of society in the same way as one might do a geological survey, or a land survey. Jean Converse in her history of survey research writes:

The naming of social surveys as such was made in direct analogy to the surveying of land, and they were qualified as social to indicate that these were surveys of people rather than agricultural or geological surveys and also to distinguish broad-based data collection about human beings from the “bare enumeration” of official census collection.⁵

In France, Frédéric Le Play produced in 1855 the first edition of his study titled *Les Ouvriers Européens* which was based on a series of intensive case studies involving systematic observation techniques and interviews with 36 families, and 57 families in a subsequent edition.⁶ The information gathered included income, expenditures, religion, health, and other topics relating to the social life of the families.

Later in the same century, Charles Booth conducted the first large-scale quantitative study of social conditions in England, with the first volume of his study, *Life and Labour of the People*, published in 1889.⁷ As did Le Play, Booth used structured observation and survey techniques, including interviews of social workers, direct participant observation, measurements of residential dwellings, and so forth. He was able to demonstrate that one-third of Londoners lived in poverty, a social condition deemed to be caused by certain factors other than immoral behaviours, findings which ran counter to the moralistic mainstream thinking of Victorian England.⁸ In his history of Victorian England, A. N. Wilson writes: “Thanks in part to the surveys of Charles Booth... we know in profound detail about the lives of the poorest of the poor in the capital of the richest city of the world.”⁹ Booth’s legacy, according to Jean Converse, is that “[a] survey...counted cases...*many* cases, enough to provide a view of the whole. This, then, is the Booth tradition of surveys.”¹⁰

⁵ Jean Converse, *Survey Research in the United States: Roots and Emergence 1890-1960* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 11.

⁶ Converse, p. 19.

⁷ Converse, p. 11.

⁸ Converse, pp. 11, 15, 18-19.

⁹ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002), p. 512.

¹⁰ Converse, p. 19.

An early example of how surveys were used in the United States to answer specific social question dates back to 1885. At that time the State of New York established an investigative committee to study the merits of alternative forms of capital punishment as a replacement for the current practice of hanging. To this end, the commissioners with their staff of nine researchers, after studying secondary sources on the use of the guillotine, lethal injections, electricity, and other ways by which criminals could be put to death, conducted a survey of professionals. According to Linda Simon's account, in her history of the uses of electricity in the USA, the commissioners

...then designed a questionnaire polling opinion about these methods and sent it to hundreds of prominent New Yorkers, primarily judges, district attorneys, sheriffs, and physicians. By January 1888, the commission submitted its report based on two hundred replies. Eighty, they noted, recommended no change. After all, many reasoned, what did it matter if condemned murderers suffered on the gallows? Others, however, disagreed, but found most alternatives as undesirable as hanging. The guillotine seemed most merciful for its speed, but repulsive because of "the fatal chop, the raw neck, the sprouting blood"; moreover, it had unpleasant associations with the horrors of the French Revolution...¹¹

The first use of non-government survey-based studies to be used in the USA specifically for marketing research purposes can be traced back to 1879 when the advertising firm N.W. Ayer & Son needed to develop an advertising strategy for the Nichols and Shepard Company, a major national agricultural machinery producer. To this end, telegrams were sent across the country to state officials and publishers requesting information about what they were expecting for harvests in their regions. "As a result," according to one account, "the agency was able to construct a crude but formal market survey by states and counties."¹² Whether conducted by governments or private agencies, we can now say that by the late 1800s that surveys were increasingly accepted as a reliable tool for studying social questions. Jean Converse writes that it is at this stage of development that the following characteristics had emerged:

- Data collection was now described as "fieldwork";
- The scope was now comprehensive to the topic under study;
- Findings were now based on quantitative data comprising numerous "cases";
- The usual the unit of analysis was the individual person.¹³

A sign of the widespread acceptance for survey-based research became apparent in the early 1900s when Americans were increasingly turning to social surveys to better understand social change in

¹¹ Linda Simon, *Dark Light: Electricity and Anxiety from the Telegraph to the X-Ray* (New York: Harcourt, 2004), pp. 221-222. In the end, the commission recommended the use of electrocution in place of hanging, and in 1888 the Electrical Execution Act was enacted (p. 225).

¹² Lawrence C. Lockley, "History and Development of Marketing Research," in *Handbook of Marketing Research*, Robert Ferber, ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974, p. 1-4. Lockley reports that at the same time (p. 1-5), firms were developing their own marketing information systems (MIS) in order to exploit internal data to help develop marketing strategies. In 1902, for example, Du Pont's Trade Analysis Division required its 65 salespersons to provide regular reports about their current and prospective customers which then conducted a systematic analysis of the marketing research data to produce a regular "Trade Report." Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this aspect of marketing research in any detail, and is best left to a future time.

¹³ Converse, p. 21.

rural America; urban problems including poverty, crime and drunkenness; and to uncover unsavoury conditions in city factories. For example, President Theodore Roosevelt established the Country Life Commission which began operating in 1907 with Liberty Hyde Bailey as its chairman. Bailey, a dean at Cornell University's New York State College of Agriculture, held hearings across the country. The commission issued a questionnaire, which it termed a "circular", to 550,000 residents, with questions pertaining to perceptions about rural life. One of which was "Are the farm homes in your neighborhood as good as they should be under existing conditions?" Approximately 100,000 responses were received. Due to the topics covered, and because the results were focused on the perceptions of respondents rather than hard facts as reported in a census, this survey is deemed by social historians to be the first quality-of-life (QOL) survey ever conducted.¹⁴ An indication that survey-based research was accepted as a standard and reliable tool for doing social research was that according to one tally, by the beginning of 1928, it was estimated that 2,775 different studies based on social surveys had appeared worldwide, a number considered by the social historian Jean Converse to be an underestimate.¹⁵

The Canadian Census

When looking at the origins of the polling industry, the implementation of national censuses is often overlooked. Perhaps this is because a "census" by its very nature is "an accounting of the complete population"¹⁶ and therefore does not require the implementation of the types of sampling techniques used by pollsters, with the exception being the use of modern techniques by governments to implement systematic sampling for "long-form" surveys for some but not all householders, or to reach difficult-to-reach populations. Yet there are three elements that are essential for conducting a national census that are also essential to conducting proper polls: 1) the use of interviews, either through face-to-face encounters or through other means, to gather information; 2) designing forms by which information can be properly gathered in a standardized way, such as through a questionnaire; and 3) having the means by which the gathered information (such as completed questionnaires) can be transformed into meaningful results, including data tables and written reports.

By the mid-1800s, governments in both Europe and North America increasingly recognized the importance for gathering reliable statistics relating to their national populations for both social and economic purposes. Such data were needed for economic planning, and assessing the social and health-related needs of its people.¹⁷ Canada was no exception and within its founding document, the *British North America Act* (now titled the *Constitution Act*), Section 8 stipulated that the first census was to be taken in 1871 and every ten years afterwards. However, the census in Canada predates Confederation by more than two centuries, with the first one conducted in 1666 by the Intendant of New France, Jean Talon,¹⁸ in which 3,215 inhabitants were counted.¹⁹ Subsequent censuses were conducted irregularly in

¹⁴ Converse, p. 26-27.

¹⁵ Converse, pp. 35-6.

¹⁶ Alvin C. Burns and Ronald F. Bush, *Marketing Research: 6th Edition* (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), p. 339.

¹⁷ In his history regarding the development of social statistics by national governments, Bernard Cohen writes that in the 1700s the term "statistics" referred to questions pertaining to "matters of state" and, secondly, measures of happiness. Bernard Cohen, *The Triumph of Numbers: How Counting Shaped Modern Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005) p. 103. How international trends relating to statistics and the implementation of national censuses influenced Canada in the nineteenth century, see Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 21-22.

¹⁸ Those who visit Ottawa will see that the head office of Statistics Canada is named after Jean Talon.

¹⁹ Cara Downey, "The Census of Canada from an Archival Perspective," *IASSIST Quarterly*, Summer, 2003, p. 5.

the regions that would later become part of Canada. For example, Nova Scotia held them in 1811, 1817, 1827 and 1838. A census was conducted in Lower Canada (Quebec) in 1825 and 1831, and, censuses were conducted in Upper Canada (Ontario) from the late 1700s onwards, and by 1851, according to Thomas Hillman, “the pattern of decennial census taking had been established.”²⁰

In his history of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Worton identifies the roots of the modern day Canadian Census in the pre-Confederation enactments of 1847 and 1852 in the Province of Canada which authorised the censuses of 1851-52 and 1861. “The legislation was recognizably a precursor of the statistics acts that followed Confederation, and it also established the administrative arrangements that were carried over intact into the Dominion of Canada.”²¹ However, in terms of methodologies used, Bruce Curtis in his historical survey of Canada’s censuses writes that what differentiated these censuses from those which came afterwards, was that they “did not mobilize consistent observational protocols or coherent observational practices.”²² In contrast, the 1871 census was deemed at the time as one of the most advanced and sophisticated censuses in the world.²³ It included a total of 211 questions on age, sex, race, religion, education, and occupation as well as information gathering regarding agriculture, forestry, mining, fishing, and manufacturing.²⁴ In 1891 was the first Canadian Census in which machinery designed by Herman Hollerith, and used for the 1890 US Census, was used to process the gathered information.²⁵

For the 1901 Census, enumerators carried thirteen different forms,²⁶ and had from March 31 to May 3 to complete all their interviews in the census district to which they were assigned.²⁷ On the official day of the Census which was declared to be March 31, citizens were advised:

It is the duty of the enumerator to enter the house of each citizen in his division; to act with civility and state his business in a few words; to ask the necessary questions; to make proper inquiries and to leave the premises as soon as his business is transacted. His conduct must be judicious. Persons refusing to answer the questions or to give the required information may have legal proceedings taken against them.²⁸

Rather than just being a national census, the 1901 Census served also as the Canadian component of a broader census covering much of the British Empire.²⁹

²⁰ Thomas A. Hillman, *Catalogue of Census Returns on Microfilm: 1666-1891* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1987), p. Viii.

²¹ David A. Worton, *The Dominion Bureau of Statistics: A History of Canada’s Central Statistical Office and Its Antecedents, 1841-1972* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), p. Xii.

²² Curtis, p. 17.

²³ Curtis, p. 22.

²⁴ Thomas A. Hillman, *Catalogue of Census Returns on Microfilm: 1901* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1992), pp. ix-x.

²⁵ Worton, p. 20-21; in this same book see also the photograph of the sorting and tabulating machinery used from 1911 to 1941 (p. ix).

²⁶ *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, April 1, p. 5.

²⁷ *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, March 30, p. 2. For an example of the 1901 Census form that was used, see <http://data2.collectionscanada.gc.ca/1901/z/z003/z000142025.pdf>, accessed April 5, 2010. In 1905, the *Census and Statistics Act* fixed the month of June for the decennial census. Downey, p. 6.

²⁸ *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, March 30, p. 2.

²⁹ *Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, March 30, p. 2; Williamson, 1931, V2-293)

Originally within the purview of the Department of Agriculture, in 1912, the Census became the responsibility of the Department of Trade and Commerce, then the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which was created six years later.³⁰ According to the *Statistics Act* of 1918, the Bureau's mandate was "to collect, abstract, compile and publish statistical information relative to commercial, industrial, social, economic and general activities and condition of the people."³¹ By 1921, the Canadian Census involved an estimated 12,000 interviewers who were paid five cents for each person captured by an interview. The information was written down by pencil on blue printed forms. Police officers, missionaries and Hudson's Bay workers were also involved in reaching out to far-flung northern populations. The Census was mandatory with a possible prison sentence of three months for those who failed to comply. The interviews were conducted during three weeks in June, 1921, and the forms were processed during the summer. A total of 350 individuals were reported to be involved with this processing, which involved coders, clerks and machine operators to manage the Hollerith sorters and tabulators. By August the Bureau was able to begin issuing preliminary results from the national survey.³²

The government was also involved in other forms of information gathering based on survey research techniques. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics began collecting national retailing data in 1924 by mailing surveys to establishments that had been identified by interviewers across Canada during the 1921 Census. However, the response rate was deemed too poor for the results to be used.³³ A better effort was made for the 1930 year when retailer-related information to help build the sample frame was gathered alongside the 1931 Census. The methodology involved having the door-to-door Census interviewers compile lists of the wholesale and retail establishments in their assigned areas. This information was then used afterwards by the Bureau to send questionnaires to the enumerated establishments. These lists were augmented using business and association lists and directories.³⁴

In 1927 the Federal Government, through its Department of Agriculture, distributed approximately 350 surveys to prairie farmers, of which 115 were returned. The results allowed the government to conclude among many other things that the "average reduction in the number of horses kept after the purchase of the tractor, taking the increased acreage subsequently handled into consideration, was about four horses per farm."³⁵ Provincial governments were also using surveys to meet their informational needs. For example, in 1925 the Manitoba Department of Education established an advisory board to look into how science should be taught in schools, and as part of its work it distributed a questionnaire asking teachers about what they thought were the best ways to teach students, including science-related instruction and hands-on laboratory work.³⁶

³⁰ Worton, p. xiv; Downey, p. 6.

³¹ Vital Statistics Council for Canada, "Legislative Framework: 1900s," n.d.

³² John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), p. 1.

³³ Mel S. Moyer, "Internal Trade," *Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd Ed*, F.H. Leacy, ed. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), p. v1-23; Daniel J. Robinson, *The Measure of Democracy: Polling, Market Research, and Public Life, 1930-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 13.

³⁴ Moyer, p. v1-23

³⁵ "The Farm Tractor, From 'Seasonable Hints,' Issued by the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa," *The Lethbridge Herald*, April 2, 1927, p. 15. Unfortunately the number of surveys distributed is difficult to ascertain from the original. The precise number of surveys distributed reported in the paper was either 335 or 385.

³⁶ "May Urge Increase of School Inspectorate, Study Review Committee Discussed Science," *Manitoba Free Press*, May 2, 1925, p. 6.

Other forms of information collected by various government agencies other than those based on surveys were also used for market research purposes. In a 1924 article for *Marketing* titled “A Statistical Picture of the Average Canadian Consumer,” Bertram Brooker revealed how taxation data could be combined with census data to estimate individual consumer behaviour. According to Russell Johnston, Brooker and others who accessed these sources of government information during the 1920s were able to create market estimates regarding many areas of interest:

One concrete example was the tobacco industry, where taxation laws made available statistics on the number of cigarettes ‘released from bond for consumption.’ Assuming that the vast majority of smokers were males over the age of fifteen, Brooker divided the number of cigarettes released from bond by the male population over fifteen and arrived at a figure he believed was the average per capita consumption of cigarettes in Canada. With that figure the manufacturer could then use its own production figures to estimate its share of the market. This technique could be repeated wherever suitable trade statistics were available. For example, the Department of Labour reconstructed the Canadian working class diet by calculating per family consumption of basic foodstuffs.³⁷

One individual who used this type of data to serve his clients was William A. Lydiatt, a Canadian who, after spending much of his professional life in the USA with the well-established N.W. Ayer and Son and other agencies, began providing services to his Toronto clients in the form of statistics and marketing advice, based in part on 1911 census data. In 1914, he published *Lydiatt’s Book: What’s What in Canadian Advertising*. With updates each year, in his 6th edition of this book, the author asserted:

Advertisers are coming to appreciate the importance of statistics to the success of their advertising plans. The most successful advertisers...have learned to base their selection of media on a careful analysis of the statistics relating to markets.³⁸

Another firm that relied on statistical data for market research purposes was the Canadian Business Research Bureau (CBRB) which began operations in the mid-1920s.³⁹ The CBRB chiefly based its studies on economic, business, retail and population statistics.⁴⁰ However, there are some indications that the firm may also have conducted survey-based studies. In a 1929 advertisement, the firm claimed it had “interviewed thousands of users of [a manufacturer’s] products and learned what users actually think and know about the goods.” Also, for “a world famous firm we made a survey of cross-sections of English and French speaking dealers to determine future sales policies.”⁴¹

³⁷ Russell Johnston, *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 207.

³⁸ Johnston, p. 204.

³⁹ Russell Johnson puts the CBRB’s origins as the mid-1920s without giving a specific year. There is evidence it was doing client work for clients such as the City of Guelph in 1926. See Debra Nash-Chambers, “At the Confluence of Two Rivers: Man versus Nature in an Industrializing Community, Guelph, Ontario, 1827-1927,” Conference paper presented to the History on the Grand: Industry and Environment Conference, Cambridge, Ontario, 2009, p. 17.

⁴⁰ For example the previously cited report for the City of Guelph (cited in Chambers) as well as work done by the CBRB for the Hamilton Spectator in 1930. “Bureau of Advertising, ANPA & CDNA Standard Market Survey – Hamilton, Ontario, Canada”, May, 1930. In this second report, consisting of 4 pages of detailed market-related information, no interviews or opinion surveys were involved in the methodologies.

⁴¹ The advertisement is reproduced in Blankenship *et al.* from an uncited periodical published in 1929 (21). From the advertisement it is unclear if the first of the two examples I cite here pertain to interview-based studies that

Academia and Social Research

An examination of Canadian universities and courses relating to survey-based research shows that the academy was lagging behind what was happening in government in the 1920s, at least in having departments focused on ways to study Canadian attitudes and behaviours. It was not until the mid-1920s, for example, that psychology departments in Canada's major universities were able to break away from the confines of philosophy departments; beginning with McGill in 1924,⁴² followed by the University of Toronto in 1926.⁴³ While research and teaching was more oriented to medical matters and mental health, McGill's first Head of Psychology, W.D. Tait, would write – shortly before his appointment – about what he saw as the widespread breadth and practical potential of academic psychology:

There is almost unlimited opportunity for bringing McGill in closer touch with the community by means of extension lectures on the psychology of history, art, nationality, and business.⁴⁴

Unfortunately new fertile ground for “practical psychology” which was broken in Montreal and Toronto would be delayed elsewhere in Canada. In their history of psychology within Canadian universities, Mary Wright and Roger Myers assert that McGill and the University of Toronto

...provided models for their smaller, slowly developing sister universities, but it would not be until the 1940s that any other universities in Canada took the momentous administrative step of finally and permanently severing the ties between philosophy and psychology which had existed for so many years.⁴⁵

Along with a general absence of studies in practical psychology in most parts of Canada, Russell Johnston writes that there is no evidence to show specifically that public opinion or consumer-related studies in psychology were being conducted in Canadian universities,⁴⁶ nor that psychology was serving as a stepping stone for those seeking to enter careers in marketing research, either with advertising agencies or other forms of business firms.⁴⁷

were conducted in Canada, however, due to the bilingual nature of the second study, it is safe to assume that at least this one was done in Canada. Blankenship *et al.* speculate that this firm was a branch of an American firm which included credit and insurance investigative work (p. 20).

⁴² George Ferguson, “Psychology at McGill,” in *History of Academic Psychology in Canada*, Mary J. Wright and C. Roger Myers, eds. (Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1982), p. 13.

⁴³ However, its professors were said to have been operating a *de facto* department for some time. See C. Roger Myers, “Psychology at Toronto,” in *History of Academic Psychology in Canada*, Mary J. Wright and C. Roger Myers, eds. (Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1982), p. 82.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Ferguson, p. 46.

⁴⁵ Mary J. Wright and C. Roger Myers, “Introduction: An Overview,” in *History of Academic Psychology in Canada*, Mary J. Wright and C. Roger Myers, eds., Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1982, p. 46.

⁴⁶ Johnston, pp. 163-164.

⁴⁷ Another area requiring study is the extent to which modern forms of research techniques were being used in departments of sociology across Canada. An examination of the 1944 University of Manitoba's *General Calendar* reveals that only two sociology courses were offered, both taught through the Department of Political Economy and Political Science. Neither of the two course descriptions mentions the use of quantitative methodologies or survey research techniques (pp. 109-110). Of course, further research is warranted regarding other universities in Canada.

What were business schools in Canada doing prior to the 1930s with regard to teaching modern forms of market research? Unfortunately, the secondary literature is silent on this topic.⁴⁸ Some early developments can be seen, however, when one looks at the USA. The first known American academic survey-based marketing research study conducted in the USA was executed in 1895 by Professor Harlow Gale of the University of Minnesota. His questionnaire design illustrates the extent to which the craft was still in its rudimentary stage, with the questionnaire's main body as follows:

Advertisements seem to have two aims, viz.: 1. To attract attention. 2. To induce to buy. If you have any corrections to make with this they will be gladly received. We have classified the chief ways of advertising into four groups, viz:

1. Magazines and periodicals.
2. Newspapers and handbills or posters.
3. Show windows.
4. Painted signs and placards.

Do you know of any other ways of advertising?

What are the best ways you have found in your experience for attracting attention under these four ways of advertising?

Please name them in order of their importance from best to poorest.

Give your reasons why each way of attracting attention does attract attention.

What are the best ways you have found in your experience for inducing people to buy? (e.g. constant reiteration of firm or article, add figure prices, leaders, testimonials, prizes, use of superlatives, argument, plain statements, etc.)

Please name them in the order of their importance from best to poorest.

Give your reasons why each way of inducing people to buy does induce them to buy.⁴⁹

Regarding developments in later years and into the 1920s, in his "History and Development of Marketing Research," Lawrence Lockley writes:

The difficulty of learning when specific courses were added to collegiate curricula makes it almost impossible to give a collective account of the service of our business school in developing marketing research methodology and standards. We can, however, get some ideas of the early incidence of marketing research courses by looking at available textbooks.⁵⁰

The first known American textbooks on the topic of marketing research were C.S. Duncan's *Commercial Research* published in 1919 and J. George Frederick's *Business Research and Statistics*, published in 1920. Z. Clark Dickinson's *Industrial and Commercial Research* and Percival White's widely used *Market Analysis* (with numerous subsequent editions) were both published in 1921. While these works were not focused on the use of survey research techniques for understanding consumer behaviours, they led

⁴⁸ Further research in this field for my ongoing study of market research will include an examination of university course calendars across Canada regarding commerce and other business-related degrees. Worth noting is that in the University of Manitoba's 1944 *General Calendar* the Bachelor of Commerce program offered no courses on the topic of marketing research or research methods (pp. 48-52).

⁴⁹ Cited in Lockley, p. 1-6. Worth noting is that of the two hundred surveys sent, twenty were completed and returned, for a 20% response rate.

⁵⁰ Lawrence C. Lockley, "History and Development of Marketing Research," in *Handbook of Marketing Research*, Robert Ferber, ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 1-12.

Lockley to observe that “marketing research was infrequently presented in business schools before 1930 and infrequently omitted after 1937.”⁵¹

Of the very few academics in Canada who easily moved from the academy to marketing research was W.W. Goforth, an economics professor from McGill who was hired in 1928 by the advertising agency Cockfield, Brown to head the firm’s research division. His time at the agency was short, when Goforth made a subsequent move to manage a trade association. However, one of his hires was Henry King, an Oxford-educated classicist who had been previously with the firm National Publicity, a firm that was part of the merger that formed Cockfield, Brown.⁵² Once in place, King recruited a large number of well-educated individuals to work on marketing research projects. According to Russell Johnston:

He assembled a staff unlike that seen at any agency in the country to that point. In the first year he hired a McGill law student, two Harvard MBAs, one Oxford graduate with experience at National Publicity, and three veterans of the federal government’s Tariff Board. Others with similar levels of education or experience were hired on a contract basis to collect data from across the country.⁵³

By the end of the 1930s, other advertising agencies and consultancies were seeking similarly well-trained experts, and as H.R. Cockfield of Cockfield, Brown stated at the time: “modern agencies....[are seeking] economists, statisticians, marketing experts, and even engineers, cost accountants, and lawyers.”⁵⁴ The Canadian Research Business Bureau also focused its research work on economic and business-related statistics. Cockfield, Brown conducted survey-based research as well, including a Canada-wide survey of consumers for the soft drink Orange Crush in 1932.⁵⁵

Circulation Research

By the end of the 1920s, the Canadian weekly periodical and daily newspaper industry was heavily dependent upon advertising, with Canadian figures reaching \$50 million.⁵⁶ The media’s use of questionnaires prior to the 1930s to understand their readers was usually based on primitive methodologies with a reliance on having respondents clipping and sending in completed questionnaires. For example, in the August 1912 issue of *Canadian Home Journal*, readers were asked to fill out a questionnaire and return it by mail to the publisher for a small incentive. With a response rate of only four percent, it was used by the publisher to demonstrate to advertisers the purchasing power of its readership.⁵⁷ Another example is drawn from the Winnipeg edition of *The Manitoba Free Press* which, in November 1919, ran a “prize questionnaire” instructing readers to “Tear out this form and mail it to “Honk” c/o Winnipeg Free Press.” Without screening respondents regarding whether or not they owned

⁵¹ Lockley, pp. I-12, I-13.

⁵² Blankenship, *et al*, 19.

⁵³ Johnston, p. 222.

⁵⁴ H.R. Cockfield, “Trend in Advertising Agency Practice,” *Canadian Advertising Data*, November, 1930, p. 24, cited in Johnston, 223.

⁵⁵ “Orange Crush base [sic] campaign on nation-wide survey,” *Canadian Advertising Data*, May, 1932, cited in Blankenship *et al*, 19, 175n44.

⁵⁶ Rutherford, p. 38.

⁵⁷ Robinson, p. 31.

or managed a vehicle, questions posed to the reader included: “How much have you spent for accessories...since [your] purchase?” and ‘What car do you prefer in the \$2,000 to \$3,000 class?’⁵⁸

TEAR OUT THIS FORM AND MAIL IT TO "HONK", C.O. WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

PRIZE QUESTIONNAIRE

(Write your answers clearly in pencil, not ink)

1. What make is your car?
2. What year is it?
3. How much have you spent for accessories on it since purchase?
4. What tires do you use?
5. About what mileage do you get out of them?
6. How many months of the year do you operate your car?
7. What is your annual average mileage?
8. What is your annual bill for repairs?
9. What is your annual bill for gas and oil?
10. Do you own a garage?
11. Will your next car be of the enclosed type?
12. What car do you prefer in the \$2,000 to \$3,000 class?
13. Did newspaper advertising influence your choice of a car? If so, to what extent?
14. Does newspaper advertising influence your purchase of tires and accessories? To what extent?
15. What make are your spark-plugs?
16. Do you use shock-absorbers?
17. Are you equipped with bumpers?
18. Do you use any gas-saving device?

Materials in any western province are eligible, except those connected with the automobile trade or with the advertising business.

NAME

ADDRESS

TOWN OR CITY

Figure 1: Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg Edition), November 22, 1919, p. 27.

Concerns about the mail-in survey approach to understanding readers were raised by Bertram Brooker in his 1924 article titled “Millions of Dollars to Unearth” written for *Marketing and Business Management*. And in summarizing the article’s main points, Russell Johnston writes that Brooker observed that reader surveys are

...fraught with difficulties... Any ability to control the size of the sample was beyond the researcher. Moreover the tone of the responses might be coloured by readers’ expectations of what constituted a winning entry – all based on notions derived from reading previous ads. At that point, researchers could suffer from consumer ‘feedback’ as their own ideas became endlessly recycled. Still, researchers hoped that such surveys

⁵⁸ *Manitoba Free Press*, Winnipeg Edition, November 19, 1922, p. 27.

and contests would allow them to glimpse beyond the surface of their average consumers, and ever so briefly into their minds.⁵⁹

A change in approach was clearly occurring by the late 1920s when the largest Canadian readership survey study was conducted in 1928 by *Maclean's*. This involved what was presumably a mailout survey of 1,694 subscribers with results compiled for a report titled *Maclean's 1928: Detailed Analysis of Distribution*. Its results, which were used to help sell advertising space, revealed that on average each printed copy of the magazine was read by four people, half of whom were women and half men.⁶⁰

Due to their central role as brokers who helped companies purchase media space, as far back as the late 1800s the larger advertising agencies employed individuals whose task was to investigate the market penetration (i.e. circulation) of newspapers and periodicals, and to confirm for the “space buyers” that the advertising actually appeared and in accordance to what had been negotiated at the time of purchase. According to Johnston:

The researchers' task was to know everything about every periodical in the country: where it was published and by whom, its tone and reputation, what market it served, its circulation, its political or religious affiliations, whether or not it carried advertising, and its line rates if it did.⁶¹

In 1881, the McKim agency began publishing its annual *Canadian Newspaper Directory* and continued to do so until 1942.⁶² The agency employed staff to conduct circulation research on the type of readers each publication attracted, including religious magazines, large urban dailies, farmer weeklies, etc.⁶³ This certainly predates what some have claimed as the birth of the American “marketing research industry” which is generally understood to have occurred in 1911 when two events occurred. The Curtis Publishing Company, producer of *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies Home Journal*, hired Charles Coolidge Parlin to manage its the newly established Commercial Research Division, a section of the company specifically devoted to collecting information about its own readers. Also, in that same year the first known stand-alone research firm in the USA, The Business Bourse, was founded by J. George Frederick.⁶⁴

Another early Canadian-based firm, the advertising agency Norris-Patterson, advertised in the February 15, 1921 edition of *Marketing* its own services:

Waste in advertising can be easily averted by calling in a reliable agent at the inception of a new product. The agency should cooperate with the manufacturer from the choosing of the name to the determining of the selling policy.

And among the services they were offering was: “We perform for our clients....market investigations and research work.”⁶⁵

In contrast to later decades when quantitative research would be coordinated by well-educated (and often well-paid) social scientists, circulation research was treated by the agencies as “routine

⁵⁹ Johnston, p. 207.

⁶⁰ Johnston, p. 247.

⁶¹ Johnston, pp. 38-39.

⁶² Blankenship *et al*, p. 15.

⁶³ Johnston, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Johnston, p. 203.

⁶⁵ The advertisement is shown in full in Johnston, p. 209.

clerical work” comparable to the work done in more modern telephone field centres, and it was performed by women whose work was often undervalued:

Men grew less inclined to enter this line, preferring one of the skilled jobs in sales, media-buying, or creative services. While this allowed women to enter the agency field, employers did not hire them out of any principle of equality. Rather, these jobs were considered the least skilled and therefore garnered less remuneration.⁶⁶

However, on rare occasions women were able to hold managerial positions in the industry, with one example being Margaret Pennell who in 1927 formed Margaret Pennell Advertising, a Toronto-based agency specializing in advertising services for companies seeking to reach female consumers. Another example is Ethel Fulford who formed Canadian Facts, a firm which is discussed later in this chapter.⁶⁷

Canadian Firms Using Survey Research: 1920s and 1930s

Along with Cockfield, Brown which had launched its consumer research division and was doing survey based studies by the late 1920s (as discussed earlier), in 1929 the American agency J. Walter Thompson (JWT) re-established operations in Canada after having closed its Canadian office in 1916. JWT had been involved with conducting marketing research in the US as far back as 1912 when it began publishing its *Population and Its Distribution* which focused on segmenting the American population according to region and socio-economic characteristics.⁶⁸ When it re-established its Canadian operations, the manager of the JWT Montreal office, Robert J. Flood (who was a transplanted American) formed a research department that would focus on the needs of Canadian clients. JWT launched in December 1929 what is considered to be the first Canada-wide commercial survey of consumers. This study, which had a field window spanning two months, was conducted for Standard Brands and pertained to usage and attitudes regarding seven food products. While the methodological details were not reported, JWT was able to tell its client that “three out of every four women” were consumers of Magic brand baking powder, and that one out of four women continued to use pots rather than percolators when making coffee.⁶⁹ Data derived from such efforts helped JWT win major clients including Fleischmann’s and the Canadian Marconi Company. These successes were followed by the opening of a second JWT office in Toronto, in which the agency included at the top of its list of services “market research” in the November 1930 issue of *Canadian Advertising Data*.⁷⁰ Another indication of the firm’s new capacity in the Canadian marketplace was a nation-wide survey of 1,688 urban consumers regarding magazine readership. Again, with few details regarding the study’s methodology, including how the interviews were conducted, JWT felt confident in reporting that 58 percent of Canadians regularly read American magazines, while 51 percent read Canadian magazines, and 38 percent read publications from both countries.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Johnston, p. 77.

⁶⁷ Johnston, p. 74. For an interesting radio segment regarding women who achieved success in the advertising industry, see the CBC March 26, 2011 episode of “The Age of Persuasion” available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/ageofpersuasion/episode/2011/03/26/season-five-mad-women-the-great-women-of-advertising-1/>. Accessed February 24, 2017.

⁶⁸ Johnston, p. 203.

⁶⁹ Quoted in Robinson, 24.

⁷⁰ Johnston, 221.

⁷¹ Robinson, 24.

Along with Cockfield, Brown, JWT would be one of the most active marketing research firms in the country during the 1930s. Following their first national survey of women consumers completed for Standard Brands in early 1930 and a national survey of 1,688 Canadians regarding magazine readership, JWT also conducted a survey of “1,040 housewives in 21 representative cities across Canada” regarding ammonia usage in the household, and a survey regarding baking powder of 832 women in Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Sherbrooke in 1933.⁷² The fact that the firm was still feeling its way in applying different methodologies was demonstrated by the use of collecting breakfast cereal based on the contents of household cupboards in a 1938 study in Ontario and Quebec, and a 1938 newspaper readership survey of 495 Toronto youth aged eight to sixteen based on samples drawn from Sunday schools, “Settlement Houses”, and Boy Scout meetings. JWT used the results to report that close to three-quarters of children were able to recall comic strip content while only 39 percent recalled the front page headline in the previous day’s newspaper.⁷³

Described as Canada’s “most far-reaching and methodologically advanced consumer surveys” ever conducted, JWT conducted two surveys in 1938 and 1939 for Lever Brothers. In the first study, surveys were conducted in Ontario and Quebec with 2,776 women on topics such the use of soaps, creams, and cosmetics. With a large sample such as this, and with efforts to fill specific socio-economic quotas, including age, region, and income categories, JWT conducted cross-tabular and simple correlational analysis. The firm reported such findings as 95 percent of Ontario women, compared to 73 percent of Quebec women, washed their faces each morning, and that farm women were slightly less frequent washers compared to employed women; negative correlations were found between both age and, surprisingly, income and the frequency of soap use.⁷⁴

The 1939 study conducted by JWT for Lever Brothers was based on its American annual “General Soap Survey” and consisted of 5,162 Canadian housewives. This survey is now considered to be the largest consumer sample conducted in the country during the 1930s.⁷⁵ The survey included questions regarding laundry and bathing, radio listening, and newspaper and magazine reading. Interviewers conducted half-hour doorstep interviews, with results to show the connection between media consumption patterns and soap use, which would provide Lever Brothers with strategically useful data for its marketing campaigns.⁷⁶ Daniel Robinson provides a summary of some of the study’s key findings:

...two-thirds of the market for fine-fabric laundry soaps resided with families in the top half of income earners. These families also formed 76 per cent of *Le Film* readers and 63 per cent of *Canadian Home Journal* and *Maclean’s* buyers, but only 43 per cent of the readers of agricultural and religious publications, obviously the least appealing advertising vehicles for fine fabric cleaners. The report contained dozens of cross-tabulations highlighting the relationship between class, region, sex, age, mass media consumption, and soap use, providing an unlimited range for future marketing campaigns.⁷⁷

⁷² Robinson, 24-25.

⁷³ Robinson, 25-26.

⁷⁴ Robinson, 26.

⁷⁵ Robinson, 27.

⁷⁶ Robinson, 27.

⁷⁷ Robinson, 28.

While survey-based studies were increasingly being used in the 1930s by a number of firms, the Depression era provided poor soil from which the Canadian commercial polling industry could grow. In contrast to the “roaring” 1920s in which Canadians enjoyed an expanding economy appeared willing to invest in their businesses, farms, and other enterprises, the subsequent decade was marked by the worst economic downturn the country had ever faced. Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owsram in their *History of the Canadian Economy* write “from 1929 to 1933 the value of real output fell by 30 percent, with a pause in 1937-38, but real output did not reach its 1929 value again until 1939.”⁷⁸ Of course, a constricting national economy had a direct impact on the sale of goods. For example, farmers, especially those on the prairies who had invested heavily in land and equipment, were now facing sharp drops in grain prices. As an aggregate, farm income across the Prairie Provinces was actually a loss of \$3.1 million in 1932, compared to collective earnings of \$363 million in 1928.⁷⁹ At the same time, urban populations across Canada were deeply affected by the Depression. For example, in 1933 60 percent of carpenters and 55 percent of labourers were reported to be unemployed in Toronto.⁸⁰ In their *History of the Canadian Economy*, Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owsram observed that “only electric refrigerators and gold...resisted the tendency to decline” during this difficult period.⁸¹

An indication of how the Depression was affecting the Canadian media was that in 1931 the Southam national news organization saw its book value of investments drop from over \$1.3 million to a market value of \$320,000.⁸² However, according to Paul Rutherford in his history of the Canadian news media, in 1931 the press continued to communicate with virtually every Canadian citizen. By linking circulation numbers with Canadian Census data, one could calculate that on average four periodicals and newspapers were printed for every household in the country.⁸³ Yet a major new development and a challenge to those studying media consumption was that circulation research was inadequate for studying radio audiences. And by the 1930s the number of Canadians listening to radio had grown exponentially since the first radio station, XWA (later to become CFCF), began transmitting in Montreal in 1919.⁸⁴ New methodologies were needed to reach into households and interview individuals about how they were interacting with radio broadcasts in their daily lives.

Canadian Facts

An example of how rudimentary radio audiences were studied using surveys is captured in the May, 1934 issue of *General Motors Hockey Broadcast News* in which the Montreal market was studied to assess the extent to which families were listening to a National Hockey League (NHL) broadcast:

Naturally there was much curiosity concerning the size of our new audience. Consequently a telephone test was made in Montreal on February 3rd. Twelve girls with twelve telephones rang number after number in quick succession for the full hour-and-a-half of the broadcast. And this is what they learned: Of the people who were at home,

⁷⁸ Norrie and Owsram, 293.

⁷⁹ Norrie and Owsram, 357.

⁸⁰ Norrie and Owsram, 359.

⁸¹ Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owsram, *A History of the Canadian Economy, 2nd Edition* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1996), 357.

⁸² Charles Bruce, *News and the Southams* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968) p. 199.

⁸³ Paul Rutherford, *The Making of the Canadian Media*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *Signing On: The Birth of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1982), 11.

and using their radio sets, 74 per cent. were listening to General Motors Hockey Broadcasts – only 26 per cent. to all other programmes combined!⁸⁵

To address the need to better measure how certain programs and advertisements were reaching households, one of the first firms to be involved in conducting survey research of radio audiences was Canadian Facts. The firm was born through the efforts of Cockfield, Brown's research department which was a reliable way to measure Canadian radio audiences. To that end in 1932 they recruited a Bell Telephone "senior staff operator", Ethel Fulford, to open Ethel Fulford and Associates which would become Canadian Facts in 1937. This firm used telephone interviewers to conduct calls which would allow the firm to produce what would be considered the country's first radio program rating service. Early clients included Procter & Gamble and Lever Brothers.⁸⁶

Elliott-Haynes Limited

Elliott-Haynes Limited was established in Montreal in 1936. Walter Elliott had been a credit analyst and insurance investigator while Paul Haynes was a retired hockey player who had played with the Montreal Maroons and Les Canadiens. Their early research services included "service reporting" in which undercover visits were made to various establishments. These were hardly large-scale studies in that the "investigator sold the client the study, did some or all of the field work, and prepared and delivered the report."⁸⁷ By 1939 they were hired by Pepsi-Cola to conduct a study involving 6,000 soft-drink dealers in Toronto. Therefore, the firm needed to expand quickly to handle study of this scale. To that end, the firm opened up its second office in Toronto with Myles Leckie as its director. Leckie had worked previously as the "chief tabulator" for Canadian Facts. For this new study, he hired a hundred interviewers from a Simpson's department store list of job applicants and part-time employees. Interviewers were tasked with counting the soft drink signs for each outlet, both inside and outside, conducting inventory counts for each brand in the outlet's coolers, and interviewing the dealers regarding the product brands the outlet sells, frequency in which suppliers make contact, and how helpful the suppliers were when interacting with the dealers.

Elliott-Haynes' work in specifically providing syndicated research with regular reports on program ratings preceded that of the Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (BBM) which did not get launched until 1944.⁸⁸ In 1940, Leckie was sent to study how radio audiences were being measured south of the border. Afterwards, the firm established its "Radio Research Division" which conducted surveys of Canadians using the "coincidental telephone method" to produce reports which initially covered the Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver markets.⁸⁹ In a front-page interview in 1941 for *The Canadian Broadcaster*, Walter Elliott claimed that up until that time "a total of 2,000,000 personal interviews were completed with Canadian radio listeners" based on telephone calls. Ross Eamon writes that in the early 1940s surveys "were conducted during two weeks of each month, one

⁸⁵ *General Motors Hockey Broadcast News*, May, 1934, p. 1. The periods inserted after each use of "per cent" is in the original. The front page of this edition of *Hockey Broadcast News* is reproduced in Bill McNeil and Morris Wolfe, *Signing On: The Birth of Radio in Canada* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1982, p. 84.

⁸⁶ Blankenship, *et al*, 22.

⁸⁷ Blankenship *et al*, 23.

⁸⁸ The BBM was launched by a conglomerate of media, advertising agencies and sponsors. See Blankenship *et al*, 36-37.

⁸⁹ Ross A. Eamon, *Channels of Influence: CBC Audience Research and the Canadian Public* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 51.

week being used for daytime periods and the other for evenings. A certain number of calls were made in each market for each time period.” Surveys were also conducted to supplement the “coincidental” method by asking respondents to recall their recent listening behaviours.⁹⁰ The results were used to provide to clients a “Sets-In-Use Index” and program ratings for key regions of the country.⁹¹ By 1943, the firm was boasting a network of “292 highly trained and competent statisticians, investigators and supervisors in the 24 key markets of Canada.”⁹²

There have been some methodological concerns about the reliability of the research that Elliott-Haynes produced. In his history of the CBC and the use of audience measurement, Ross Eamon points out that Elliott-Haynes overly relied on urban markets and the use of telephones which left much of the country outside the sample frame. In 1941 only 40 percent of Canadian households were equipped with landline telephones, and even ten years later, in 1951, only one-third of Canadian homes with radios were also equipped with a telephone.⁹³ Furthermore, because Elliott-Haynes was a privately operated firm, there are few details to be found about many aspects of its telephone-based methodologies including how calls were distributed within each targeted region, and what procedures were used, if any, regarding statistical weighting that might have been used. In 1948, and in response to requests by the CBC, the firm refused to disclose its methodological procedures.⁹⁴

Conclusion

This conference paper has provided an overview of the foundation from which the modern Canadian polling industry developed. The early use of the tools of the trade for the Canadian Census, including interviewing techniques, the development of questionnaires, and data processing had been highly developed by the beginning early twentieth century. Furthermore, this paper has shown that an industry focused on collecting consumer research had also developed well before the advent of the Gallup poll’s arrival in 1941. A major driver for this activity was the need to assess the extent to which advertising and other forms of media content, including specific programming, were reaching their intended audiences. It was during the 1930s that a number of firms were able to use telephone polling techniques to reach into households to assess their consumption of radio broadcast content.

⁹⁰ Eamon, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁹¹ *The Canadian Broadcaster*, January, 1942, 2.

⁹² Elliott-Haynes Limited [Advertisement], *The Canadian Broadcaster*, March, 1943, 4.

⁹³ Eamon, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Eamon, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

It happened in 1936....



LET'S glance backward for just a moment!

The Rebels and the Loyalists were fighting in Spain.... King Edward and Mrs. Simpson were also making front page news.... the graphic trend had started and all-picture magazines were the rage.... movie-goers were lining up to see Ruth Chatterton and Walter Huston in "Dodsworth".... Rudy Vallee had crooned his way to the top.... you were probably singing "Pennies from Heaven".... the Dionne Quintuplets were only 28-months old.... and fashion styles were not as they are today.

The year was 1936!

And the same year, on October 1st, Elliott-Haynes Limited opened its first office in Montreal—to pioneer a marketing research service, which now extends from coast to coast.

A decade has passed.

We look backward over our shoulder briefly to review our friendship with a distinguished list of clients. To them, we repeat those two old-fashioned words: "Thank You!"

Today, Elliott-Haynes Limited enjoys a solid and mature status in a very young world. Built on a foundation of ten years of leadership, we feel proud—with pardonable pride—of our contribution to the progress of advertising, marketing, sales and allied industries in this country.

Frankly, it feels pretty good to be making progress.

The original staff of four has grown to more than sixty—the Dominion-wide field staff having increased from thirty to over twelve hundred interviewers and correspondents—covering every important marketing center in Canada.

We are proud, too, of the individual skill of our members, and their experience embraces every type of marketing research—a tool that helps good brains do an even better job.

If you would like to know more about our services, call or write us.



On the occasion of their 10th Anniversary, Elliott-Haynes Limited moves into their newly purchased building at 515 Broadview Avenue in Toronto, consolidating all operations under one roof.

ELLIOTT-HAYNES LIMITED

Marketing Research

515 BROADVIEW AVE.
T O R O N T O

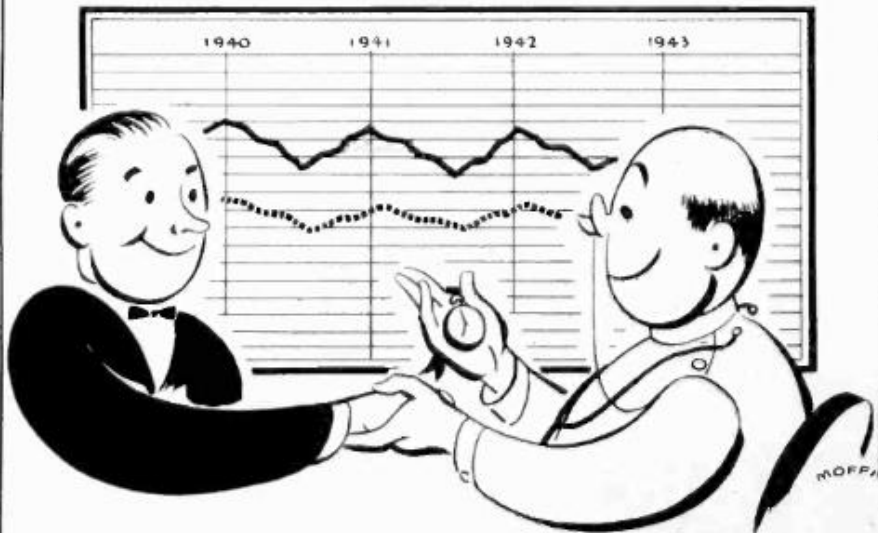
SUN LIFE BUILDING
M O N T R E A L

1936-1946

ELLIOTT-HAYNES LIMITED

10 YEARS OF PROGRESS

With a finger on the pulse of
CANADIAN RADIO
continuously since 1940



WITH an organization of 292 highly trained and competent statisticians, investigators and supervisors in the 24 key markets of Canada, Elliott-Haynes affords the broadcasting industry the only accurate and continuous measurement of radio program audiences.

ELLIOTT-HAYNES LIMITED

Sun Life Building
Montreal

EHL

Bank of Commerce Bldg.
Toronto